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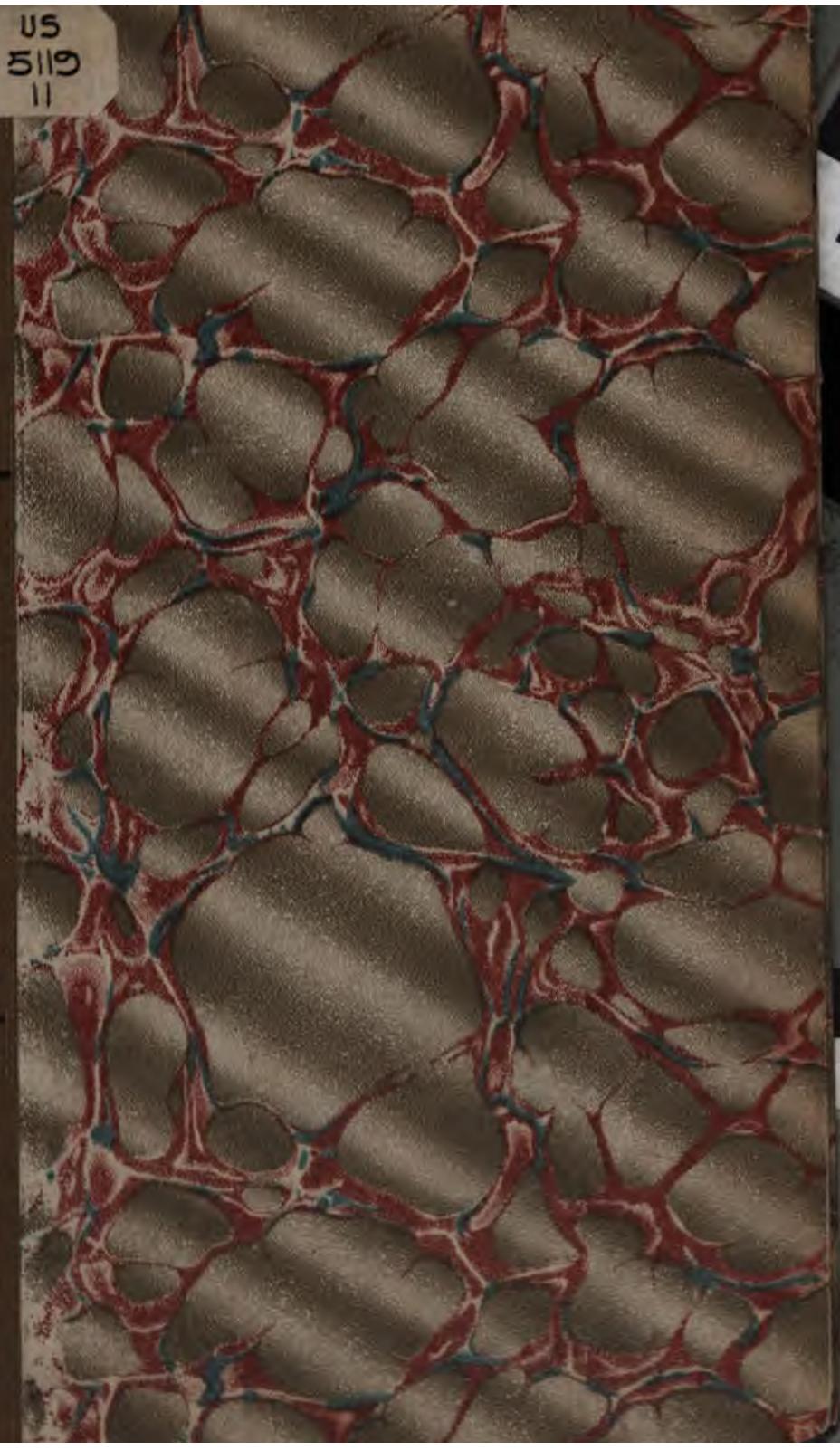
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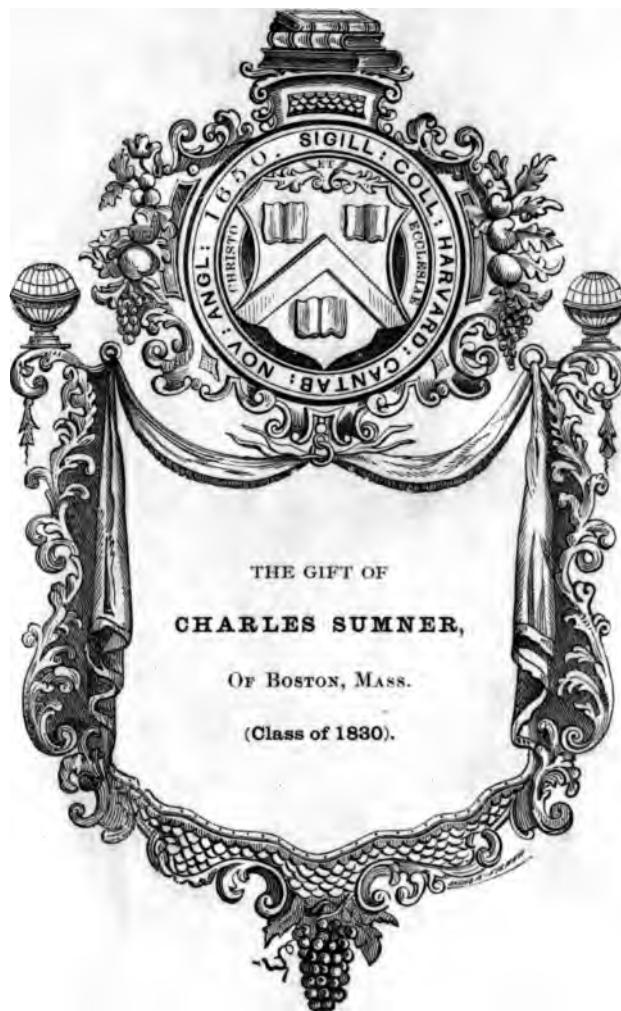
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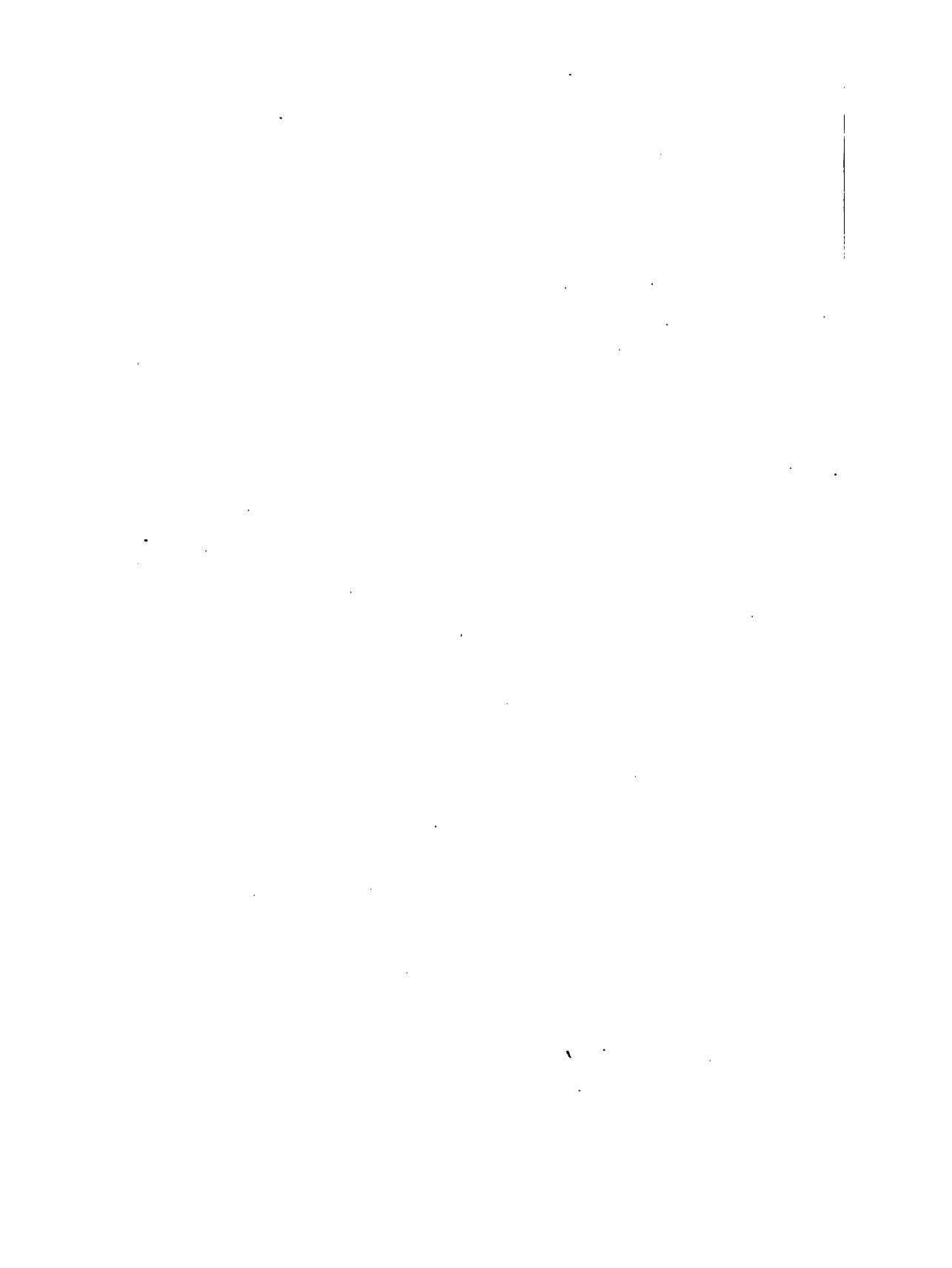
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## ADDRESSES AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

# STATE INDEPENDENT FREE TERRITORY CONVENTION

OF THE

## PEOPLE OF OHIO,

HELD AT COLUMBUS, JUNE 20 AND 21, 1848.

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CINCINNATI:

PRINTED AT THE HERALD OFFICE, WALNUT STREET, BELOW SECOND.

1848.

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**READ, AND LET NEIGHBORS READ.**

Ms. 5119.11

1864, Nov. 29.

Gift of

Gen. Thos. Sumner.

(N. Y. 1850.)

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# FREE TERRITORY CONVENTION.

## PROCEEDINGS.

Convention met in the Democratic Hall, in the man Building, and temporarily organized J. P. KIRTLAND, of Cuyahoga county, the Chair, and appointing F. M. KEITH, of county, and JOHN C. VAUGHAN, of Hamilton, Secretaries. Delegates were in attendance from every congressional District of the State except one, and from Indiana.

motion of Hon. E. S. Hamlin, of Cuyahoga county, a committee of one from each of the congressional districts represented, was appointed nine permanent officers for this Convention. The Committee was filled by the appointment of the following citizens:

District, A. H. Ernst, of Hamilton county; District, Jonathan Farquhar, of Butler county; District, Luther Bruea, of Montgomery county; District, Thomas K. Smith, of Logan county; District, John Paul, of Williams county; District, John Frazier, of Brown county; District, Erastus Tulley, of Ross county; District, W. A. Ustick, of Fayette county; District, Wm. B. Jarvis, of Franklin county; District, J. J. Stone, of Richland county; District, S. P. Lindley, of Meigs county; District, J. McCoy, of Washington county; District, George Richey, of Guernsey county; District, Thomas Lee, of Harrison county; District, Eli Nichols, of Coshocton county; District, H. L. Preston, of Columbiana co; District, F. M. Keith, of Stark county; District, Jacob H. Baldwin, of Trumbull co; District, Diode Clark, of Cuyahoga county; District, Moore Farwell, of Erie county.

motion, the Committee on Organization, instructed to report at the sitting of the Convention in the afternoon, or earlier if practicable. motion, *ordered*, That the delegates from each Congressional District appoint one to compose a Committee on Address and Resolutions, and that said Committee meet at 12 M., and report this afternoon practicable.

Committee on Organization then reported names of the following persons as permanent of the Convention:

For President;  
**HENRY STARR**, of Hamilton county.  
For Vice Presidents;  
—Friend Cook, of Portage.  
—J. P. Kirtland, of Cuyahoga.  
—Robert Stewart, of Ross.  
For Secretaries;  
—F. M. Keith, of Stark.

2d—Donn Piatt, of Logan.

3d—Wm. G. Graham, Franklin.

Mr. Starr asked, an account of ill health, to be excused from serving as President, whereupon, on motion, the blank was filled with the name of Nathaniel Sawyer, of Cincinnati.

On motion of C. P. Wolcott of Summit County, the report of the Committee, as amended, was adopted, and the gentlemen whose names were reported, were declared to be the permanent officers of this Convention.

**NATHANIEL SAWYER**, Esq., the President elect was then conducted to the Chair, and introduced to the Convention by John C. Vaughan, Esq.

Henry Starr, of Hamilton, then read to the Convention a letter, approving the objects of the Convention, pledging his co-operation, from Nathan Guilford, Esq., of Cincinnati.

Amos Moore, of Hamilton, was called for and addressed the Convention in an animated and interesting speech.

Hon. E. S. Hamlin then read a letter from the Hon. J. R. Giddings, indicating his position in opposition to the Philadelphia nominations, and after the reading of the letter addressed the Convention very eloquently and with great effect; and was followed by S. H. Chase, a delegate from the State of Indiana.

On motion, it was

*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to procure a larger hall for the meeting of this Convention; whereupon Messrs. S. M. Smith, John Burr and John McCullough, of Franklin County, were appointed said Committee.

On motion the Convention adjourned to meet at 3 o'clock, P. M.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment. Every District was now represented.

The names of the members of the Committee on Address and Resolutions, as filled by the appointment of the several Congressional Delegations, were reported as follows:

1st District, John C. Vaughan, of Hamilton.  
2nd. Alsd. Thoinas, of Butler.  
3rd. John Bonner, of Montgomery.  
4th. Donn Piatt, of Logan.  
5th. John Paul, of Williams.  
6th. Harrison McLellan, of Seneca.  
7th. John M. Nelson, of Highland.  
8th. J. M. Jackson, of Ross.  
9th. H. C. Stewart, of Fayette.  
10th. George D. Graham, of Franklin.  
11th. E. McElroy, of Richland.

12th. S. C. Larkin, of Meigs.  
13th. John C. McCoy, of Washington.  
14th. M. R. Hull, of Muskingum.  
15th. Wm. Steele, of Guernsey.  
16th. Eli Nichols, of Coshocton.  
17th. H. L. Preston of Columbiana.  
18th. Saml. Pease, of Wayne.  
19th. Chr. P. Wolcott, of Summit.  
20th. E. S. Hamlin, of Cuyahoga.  
21st. Phil. Bliss, of Lorain.

James Birney of Hamilton county, the Committee on Address and Resolutions not being ready to report, was called for, and came forward and addressed the Convention, and was followed by Samuel Lewis and M. R. Hull.

Philemon Bliss, of Lorain county, being called for, then came forward and addressed the Convention, and was followed by D. Piatt, of Logan county, and Joseph Vance of Knox county.

Hon. John M. Woods, on behalf of those who have charge of the State House, and in his own behalf tendered to the Convention the use of the Hall of the House of Representatives for their future sessions.

On motion, the thanks of the Convention were tendered to Mr. Woods, and through him to those who, in connection with him, have charge of the House.

H. L. Preston, Esq., of Columbiana county being called for, then addressed the meeting.

On motion, it was *Resolved*, That when this Convention adjourn, it adjourn to meet in the State House yard at  $\frac{1}{2}$  before eight o'clock this, afternoon.

On motion, it was *Resolved*, That the Convention meet to morrow morning at eight o'clock, in the State House.

On motion, adjourned.

The evening session was occupied by animated and thrilling speeches from different members, giving an account of the state of the cause in their counties, and exhorting the vast audience to join in rolling on the ball.

#### WEDNESDAY MORNING, June 21.

The hour of 8 o'clock having arrived, the Convention was called to order by the President; prayer by the Rev M. E. Strebey of Mount Vernon.

The Secretary then read an address of the Indiana Wilmot Proviso League, which was received with enthusiasm.

J. A. Briggs, of Cuyahoga, being called for, came forward and addressed the Convention.

S. S. Harding, Esq., a delegate from Indiana being called for, came forward and gave the Convention an account of the Free Territory and Taylor Conventions, lately held in Indianapolis.

Mr. Vaughan from the Committee on those matters, reported an Address, which, having been read, was unanimously adopted, and then the

Convention adjourned till afternoon. (See the Address post page 7.)

#### AFTERNOON AND EVENING SESSION.

Convention assembled at 2 o'clock. Hon. Thomas Lee of Harrison county, being called upon, addressed the Convention. The Committee on Address, &c., reported a series of resolutions, which after some discussion by Messrs. Starr and Vaughan, were unanimously adopted. (See these Resolutions, with others adopted by Convention, on next page.)

The same Committee then reported an Address to the People of the United States, which was unanimously adopted. (See Address post page 14.)

On motion,

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Organization report the names of two citizens for Senatorial Electors, and that each Congressional District be requested to appoint one Elector of President and Vice President of the United States to vote for nominees pledged to Freedom, Free Territory and Free Labor.

*Resolved*, That the Delegations from each Congressional District report the names of three delegates from each to the National Independent Convention at Buffalo, if prepared to select, and if not, that the districts be requested to appoint such Delegates at the earliest practicable day.

On motion of J. A. Briggs,

*Resolved*, That we demand for the people of the West an adequate system of River and Harbor improvements, and we firmly believe that the ascendancy of the slave power in the National Councils has hitherto constituted the chief obstacle to the adoption of such a system.

On motion of P. Bliss,

*Resolved*, That a Newspaper devoted to Freedom, Free Territory and Free Labor, be established in this city, and we pledge ourselves to extend its circulation.

On motion, S. P. Chase and John C Vaughan were appointed a committee to superintend the publication of the Proceedings of the Convention.

The Committee on Organization by F. M. Keith, made reports recommending as Senatorial Electors, Joseph Lyman, of Cuyahoga county, and Nathaniel Sawyer, of Hamilton county, which report was accepted and adopted.

The following names were reported by Congressional Delegations, as Delegates to the National Independent Free Territory Convention to be held at Buffalo, with power to fill all vacancies:

- 1st Con. Dis., John C. Vaughan, Sam'l Lewis, John W. Shields;
- 2d. Sam'l Lemar, Jos. Stevenson, Alf. Thomas;
- 4th. Obed Hor, J. R. Ware, of Champaign, Dom Piatt, of Logan;
- 6th. Jas. B. Steel, Bemis Amoden, Dr. Jackson;
- 7th. Thos. McCague, of Brown, John M. Nelson, of Highland, Jacob Ebersol, of Clermont,

8th. Robert Stewart, John Sperry, Derrick Amerman;  
 9th. J. Whitwell, B. W. Man, H. C. Stewart;  
 11th. Columbus Delano, of Knox, Benj. Gass, of Rutland, James McNeil, of Marion;  
 13th. David Putnam, Jr., John Stone, Ichabod H. Nye;  
 14th. John Craig, James Fyeley, A. A. Guthrie of Muskingum;  
 15th. Joseph Thomas, Alex. H. Burtch, Thomas Lee, of Harrison;  
 18th. Eugene Pardoe, of Wayne, Sam'l Pease, F. M. Keith, of Stark;  
 19th. John M. Hutchins, of Trumbull, Isaac Brayton, of Portage, C. P. Wolcott, of Summit.  
 20th. Thomas Bolton, of Cuyahoga, Uri Seeley, of Lake, Col. Erastus Spencer, of Geauga;  
 21st. J. W. Martin of Huron, Marshall Burton, of Erie, A. S. Townsend, of Lorain.  
 Eugene Pardoe, of Wayne county, being called forward, came forward and addressed the Convention.

tion, and was followed by Mr. Farmer, Jos. Vance and others.

On motion,

*Resolved*, That the Proceedings and Addresses of this Convention, be published in all the Independent Papers of the State, in favor of Free Soil for Freemen, and also in pamphlet form, and that we earnestly recommend to each county in the State to take efficient measures for the circulation of the Proceedings and Address in every county and district.

All the business being now done, the Convention, with three cheers for Freedom, Free Territory and Free Labor, adjourned without day.

NATHANIEL SAWYIER, President.

FRIEND COOK,  
 J. P. KIRTLAND, } V. Pres.  
 ROBERT STEWART.

F. M. Keith,  
 Donn Piatt, } Secretaries.  
 Wm. H. Graham,

## RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE INDEPENDENT STATE FREE TERRITORY CONVENTION OF OHIO, HELD AT COLUMBUS, JUNE 20TH AND 21ST, 1848.

WHEREAS, We have assembled in Convention as the Friends of Freedom, Free Territory and Free Labor, willing and desirous to co-operate with any party thoroughly resolved and inflexibly determined to permit no farther extension of slavery and to resist the alarming aggressions of the Slave Power, but prepared also, in the event that each of the great political parties should nominate candidates unfaithful to Freedom, to act as befits men determined to resist, by all constitutional means, the introduction of Slavery into National Territories;

And WHEREAS, The Convention styling itself Democratic, assembled at Baltimore, on the 22d day of May, 1848, nominated for the Presidency, Lewis Cass, whose recent ardent friendship for the Wilmot Proviso has been suddenly converted into decided hostility by the operation of Presidential aspirations; and the Convention, styling itself Whig, assembled at Philadelphia on the 7th day of June, 1848, nominated for the Presidency Zachary Taylor, a large slaveholder of the extreme South, who has never avowed a sentiment in favor of the restriction of slavery, but from his position, circumstances, habits and associations, must be presumed to be favorable to its extension;

And WHEREAS, Among the Principles of Ohio vowed by her Legislature, cherished by her Citizens and incorporated in her Fundamental Law, there are more firmly fixed than this of opposition to Slavery Extension.

1st. *Resolved*, Therefore, That this Convention, and the Freemen whom this Convention repre-

resents, unwilling to submit to slaveholding dictation, but determined, now and hereafter, at all times and under all circumstances, to resist inflexibly the aggressions of the Slave Power, reject, with indignation, the nominations dictated by the slaveholders to the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conventions, as utterly unworthy of the support of non-slaveholding freemen.

2d. *Resolved*, That the Proviso of Jefferson, to prohibit the existence of slavery, after 1800, in all the territories of the United States, Southern and Northern; the votes of six States and sixteen delegates in Congress for the Proviso, to three States and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of slavery from the Northwestern Territory by the Ordinance of 1787, unanimously adopted by Congress; and the entire history of that period clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation not to extend or nationalize but to limit and localize slavery; and to this policy, which ought never to have been departed from, the government ought immediately to return.

3d. *Resolved*, That our fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty; but expressly denied to the Government which they created, all constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due legal process.

4th. *Resolved*, That, in the judgment of this Convention, Congress has no power to institute slavery. No such power can be found among

those specifically conferred by the Constitution or derived by implication from them.

5th. *Resolved*, That Congress having no power to authorize slavery in the Territories, is bound by every consideration of reason, justice, sound policy and constitutional obligation, to prohibit its introduction.

6th. *Resolved*, That we accept the issue tendered us by the slaveholders, and to their demand for *more Slave States and more Slave Territory*, our answer is "*NO MORE SLAVE STATES and NO SLAVE TERRITORY*."

7th. *Resolved*, That we greatly honor the bold, honest, and independent conduct of the **NEW YORK DEMOCRACY**, in maintaining the principles of Jefferson against the Extension of Slavery;—and of her delegates to the Baltimore Convention in refusing to accept seats in that body upon conditions dishonorable to their constituents and insulting to them, and we earnestly desire to co-operate with them in the approaching struggle for Free Soil for Free Men.

8th. *Resolved*, That we repose full confidence in the purity, wisdom, patriotism and firmness of **JOHN MCLEAN**. His opinions that "slavery can exist only by virtue of a special law;" that "the common law, national law and law of nature are opposed to it;" that "the relation of master and slave is an unnatural and artificial relation, created by the municipal law and consequently cannot exist beyond the binding influence of such law;" and "that Congress has no power to constitute slavery anywhere," meet our warmest approval and heartiest concurrence.

9th. *Resolved*, That **Preston King**, **John Van Buren**, **George Rathbun** and their associates, by their indomitable courage and inflexible perseverance in leading the New York Democracy against the combined forces of Hunkerism and Slavery, have entitled themselves to the admiration of all Lovers of Freedom and Haters of Despotism.

10th. *Resolved*, That the independent and fearless speech and conduct of **Joshua R. Giddings**, **John G. Palfrey**, **Amos Tuck, Jr.**, and **David Wilmot** and their worthy colleagues in Congress, in opposition to the demands of the Slave Power; and of **Henry Wilson** and **Charles Allen** of Massachusetts, and of **Lewis D. Campbell**, **D. R. Tilden** and **Samuel Galloway** of Ohio, in opposition to the nomination of **Gen. Taylor**, in the Philadelphia Convention, meet our cordial approval, and correctly express the determination of the Freemen of the Free States.

11th. *Resolved*, That **Joaz P. HALE**—the first REBEL against Hunkerism and Slavery in the Democratic Party, and the first VICTOR over their combined powers,—by his bold and uncompromising defence in the Senate of the United States, of free speech, free printing, free soil and free labor against the aggressions of the Slave Power, has won for himself the enduring confidence and affection of all true hearted Americans.

12th. *Resolved*, That we recognize as valid

that interpretation of the doctrine of free soil which assures to actual settlers, under suitable limitations, the free grant of reasonable portions of the Public Domain, as permanent homes for themselves and their children; and we fully believe that the free and independent yeomanry, which such a policy would create, would prove, in every emergency, the surest safeguard and defense of free institutions.

12th. *Resolved*, That we demand a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the Federal Government; the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries, and the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the Government, so far as the same may be practicable.

14th. *Resolved*, That we demand Freedom and Established Institutions for our brethren in Oregon, who are now exposed to hardship, peril and massacre by the reckless hostility of the slaveholders to the establishment of a Free Government for a Free Territory.

15th. *Resolved*, That we invite all Friends of Freedom, Free Territory and Free Labor opposed to the election of **Cassier Taylor** to assemble in Convention at Buffalo on the ninth day of August, 1848, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States, and take such other measures as the crisis requires.

16th. *Resolved*, That we earnestly recommend to the Freemen of Ohio to support no man for Congress or the State Legislature who is not an assured friend and faithful maintainer of the principles of freedom, and ready to act, independently, with any party, or against any party, as the cause of Freedom, Free Territory and Free Labor may require.

17th. *Resolved*, That we deem it inexpedient at this time, to make any nomination for Governor.

18th. *Resolved*, That **E. S. Hamlin**, **Thomas Bolton**, **Edward Wade**, **T. C. Floyd**, and **Joseph Lyman** of Cuyahoga county, be a State Independent Committee, authorized to act for the Independent Friends of Freedom, Free Territory and Free Labor, until the appointment of their successors by a subsequent State Convention; and that they be authorized to fill their own vacancies and appoint corresponding members in each county.

19th. *Resolved*, That for the advancement of our cause we put our trust in God and invoke his guidance in our efforts for the redemption of our country from the yoke of the Slave Power.

20th. *Resolved*, (on motion of **Jas. A. Briggs**, of Cuyahoga,) That we demand for the People of the West an adequate system of River and Harbor Improvements, and we firmly believe that the ascendancy of the slave power in the National Councils has hitherto constituted the chief obstacle to the adoption of such a system.

21st. *Resolved*, (on motion of **P. Blise**, of Lorain,) That a Newspaper devoted to Freedom,

Free Territory and Free Labor, be established in the city of Columbus, and we pledge ourselves to extend its circulation.

22d. *Resolved*, That the Proceedings and Addresses of this Convention, be published in all the Independent Papers of the State, in favor of

Free Soil for Freemen, and also in pamphlet form, and that we earnestly recommended to each county in the State to take efficient measures for the circulation of the Proceedings and the Address to the People of Ohio in every county, and district.

## ADDRESS OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE FREE TERRITORY CONVENTION, HELD AT COLUMBUS, JUNE 20TH AND 21ST, TO THE PEOPLE OF OHIO.

### FELLOW CITIZENS:

A great crisis has arrived in the history of our country. The events of the next few months must decide whether the American People are in truth a Free People, or the voluntary bondsmen of the Slaveholding Oligarchy.

The nation has just emerged from the war with Mexico. That war has resulted—as almost all men have long foreseen it must result—in an immense acquisition of territory. New Mexico and Upper California, and part of Sonora and Sinaloa, and all the district South of New Mexico, and between the Rio Grande and Nueces, have been ceded to the United States. The territory thus acquired has an area of nearly, if not quite, seven hundred thousand square miles.

Of this vast region, Texas modestly claims more than one hundred and fifty thousand square miles, comprising fragments of Chihuahua, New Leon, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas, and nearly all New Mexico, lying east of the Rio Grande.—This claim being wholly rejected, as it ought to be, and, but for the ascendancy of the Slave Power in the National Government, undoubtedly would be, all this territory is National Territory, to be settled, governed, and finally created into States, under the auspices of the Government of the United States. If the Texan claim be admitted to all the district south of New Mexico, and east of the Rio Grande, (and no one at present proposes to grant more,) there still remain to be disposed of as National Territory nearly six hundred and fifty thousand square miles of area, being more than one third of the entire Mexican Republic, and sufficient to make fifteen States as large as Ohio.

Shall this vast region be Free Territory or Slave Territory? It is now Free. Not a slave breathes its pure air. Shall Slavery be forced into it by the Government of the United States? Shall Freedom be abolished to make room for Slavery? Shall the free laborers of the North and the South, the Union and the World be excluded thence, or degraded there, in order that enslavers of men and dealers in human beings, may be admitted with their victims and their merchandize?

This is the Great Paramount Question of the

present moment, not to be evaded or postponed. In view of this question, the people of the Free States, have, within the last three years, repeatedly, and in every form, and with singular unanimity, announced their fixed determination to permit no further Extension of Slavery. This determination has found expression in the Wilmot Proviso, adopted by a large majority of the House of Representatives, but unhappily defeated in the Senate; in the Resolves of Legislatures; in the Declarations of State Conventions, and in the resolutions of primary meetings of the People of all parties throughout the Free States.

No where was this all pervading sentiment more distinctly announced than in Ohio, the Empire State of the West, herself indebted for this proud distinction to the provision of the Ordinance of 1787, excluding the curse of slavery from her borders. Her Legislature in both Houses, the Conventions of all her Political Parties, and Popular Assemblages of each Party, took decided and unequivocal ground. Among the Principles of Ohio, none seemed more firmly fixed than that of hostility to Slavery Extension and the growth of the Slave Power.

It is now to be determined, whether Ohio will abide by her Principles, thus declared, or basely surrender them upon the demand of the Slaveholders and Submissionists, who have succeeded in obtaining the control of the National Conventions of two of the great Political Parties.

For more than a year preceding the meetings of these Conventions, it was apparent that the Slaveholders, encouraged by past success in their attempts to control the action of political parties, had determined to drive both into the nomination of candidates favorable to the policy of Slavery Extension. With this view new interpretations of the Constitution and doctrines of law, before unheard of, were boldly advanced and strenuously maintained. The Slaveholders insisted that slaveholding is a natural right; that slaves are property in the same sense, and for the same reason that sheep and oxen are property; that the slaveholder may rightfully hold his slaves wherever he may choose to take them; that the Constitution was designed to sanction slaveholding in all National Territories; that it

is the duty of Congress, under the Constitution, to throw around such slaveholding, the protection of law. In their State Legislatures and their Political Party Conventions, they openly resolved that they would support no man for the Presidency, or Vice Presidency, who would not adopt their platform and countenance their views. To demonstrate the fixedness of their purpose Zachary Taylor, then in command of division of the Army in Mexico, in active service; a slaveholder, reared in the practice of slaveholding; wholly unacquainted with those principles of reason and law, by which slaveholding is condemned or limited in locality; surrounded by slaveholding relations, friends and associates; with no feeling or principle against, but with every feeling and principle in favor of the Extension of Slavery, was nominated by the Legislature of Louisiana, without distinction of party, as an Independent Candidate for the Presidency, and this nomination was cordially seconded in many, and found numerous favorers in all the Slave States.

This demonstration alarmed unscrupulous gamblers in politics and timid devotees of party. It revealed the determination of the Slaveholding leaders—always acted on, but never hitherto so openly avowed,—to renounce, if not permitted to control, the existing parties of the country.—Political leaders hastened to resume the yoke of vassalage to the Slave Power; and to make atonement for slight manifestations of insubordination by new oaths of fealty. Free State aspirants for presidential honors in one party vied with each other in protestations of homage. In the other, the Slave Power boldly demanded the nomination of Zachary Taylor, the Independent Slaveholding Candidate himself, as the price of favor, and, one after another, party leaders were prepared to acquiesce in the demand.

Such was the condition of affairs when the Democratic Convention assembled at Baltimore.

Two delegations were present from New York; one appointed in conformity with the usages of the party, and having the credentials of the Democracy of the State, but known as inflexible opponents to the Extension of Slavery; the other appointed in disregard of those usages and having only the credentials of a faction, but known as the humble and willing vassals of the Slave Power. The Convention dared not absolutely reject the one,—dared not exclusively admit the other,—but, “willing to wound and yet afraid to strike,” resorted to the mean expedient of admitting both and thus indirectly denying to the New York Democracy a representation in the body. The regularly appointed delegates, scorning to accept seats upon terms so degrading, left the Convention.

The indignity thus offered to Freedom in the case of New York found a striking contrast in the homage offered to Slavery in the case of South Carolina. But a single individual styled, aptly en-

ough, General Commander, was present from that State. He had been appointed by a Parish meeting, of a dozen persons, more or less, somewhere in one of the Congressional Districts. He claimed nine votes—the whole number to which South Carolina, if fully and equally represented, would have been entitled, and this claim was allowed. Nine votes were allowed to a Parish Delegate from South Carolina, while the great State of New York was disfranchised altogether.

The Convention, thus constituted and thus maimed, nominated as its candidate for the Presidency, Lewis Cass, of Michigan, of whom it is just to say, that it would be difficult to name a man whose desertion of the principles of freedom for the maxims of slavery would be more inexcusably infamous. A citizen of the North West, trusted and honored by the Northwest, he has witnessed from early manhood to old age, the boundless and countless blessings and benefits, which the Proviso against Slavery, first proposed by Jefferson in 1784, and engrained upon the Ordinance of 1787 by the unanimous consent of the Congress of the Confederation has secured to its hardy, energetic and free population. It was natural that such a man should approve the Anti-Slavery Proviso. He did warmly approve it; and when it was first proposed in Congress to apply this Proviso to the Territories to be acquired from Mexico, he gave to the measure his decided sanction. At the next session of Congress he began to waver under the influence of Presidential hopes and fears; but though he voted against the Proviso, as a clause of the Three Millions Bill, he still avowed himself in favor of the principle. A year later he received more light, and made two amazing discoveries; first, that the relation of owner and slave stands upon the same footing with the relation of husband and wife, and parent and child; secondly, that Congress has no power under the Constitution to legislate for the Territories and consequently no power to prevent the introduction of slavery into them. These discoveries, he hastened to announce to the world, in a letter addressed to a slaveholder of Tennessee. It is not too much to say that no well informed man believes that these are the honest convictions of Lewis Cass. It is utterly impossible that they should be. They are mere pledges, extorted from him by the terrors of the Slave Power, that he will administer the Government, if elected to the Presidency, in conformity with the wishes of the slaveholders. He has received an instalment of the price of his self abasement. He has been nominated for the Presidency, with the aid of Slave State votes. Whether the other instalment will be paid by his election remains to be seen.

If it be, it will not be paid by the Democratic party. The Baltimore Convention, by disfranchising the New York Democracy; by conceding the Parish delegate from South Carolina nine

votes; and by exacting fealty to the Slave Power as a condition of party fellowship, has created a new party in the country, which governed by no great principle, but held together chiefly by fear of the slaveholders and the hope of spoils, has assumed for itself the significant name of Hunker. If this party shall prove strong enough to elect General Cass, he will be elected: if not, he has sold himself for the empty distinction of a nomination.

Meanwhile the Democratic party survives, firm and unbroken, in the State of New York, and utters its trumpet call to all true Democrats in other States to organize upon the platform of Jefferson, and rally around the white flag of Freedom. We do not doubt the party will come forth stronger than ever from the ordeal through which it is now passing. The places of the Hunkers who will leave it will be supplied by the accession of multitudes, earnestly attached to the cardinal principles of the Democratic Faith, hitherto withheld from co-operation with it, by its alleged unfaithfulness on questions of Freedom.

In less than three weeks after the Baltimore Convention had accomplished its great achievement of disbanding the Democratic Party, the National Convention of the Whigs assembled in Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Convention met under the influence of the same controlling agencies which had been so potent at Baltimore; but under somewhat different circumstances in other respects. The Whig Party in the Free States had made the strongest professions of devotion to the cause of Freedom. Hardly a meeting of whigs was anywhere held which did not adopt strong resolutions in favor of the exclusion of slavery from National Territory. All the candidates for the nomination in the Free States were understood to favor this policy. Henry Clay, though himself a slaveholder and a citizen of a Slave State, was believed to be opposed to the introduction of slavery into the territories acquired from Mexico, not only on the score of its impolicy, but but because he denied the constitutional competency of Congress to legislate for that object. General Taylor, as we have already said, had been nominated as the Independent Candidate of the South. It was apparent, however, that General Taylor, as an Independent Candidate, could not be elected. He could receive no votes in the Free States, and the votes of the Slave States, in the event of an anti-slavery-extension candidate being nominated by the Whigs, would be divided between him and the Baltimore nominee. It was therefore of immense importance to the slaveholders, unwilling to support any Northern man, however pledged to slavery, and anxious to elect a Southern man upon the Southern platform, to secure the nomination of the Philadelphia Convention for General Taylor.

By what threats—by what promises—by what appliances of every kind they succeeded in effecting this object, can never be known: but they did succeed. General Taylor had never voted a whig

ticket; had never advocated a whig measure; had never avowed a whig principle; had declared himself unacquainted with all great questions of public policy;—and yet he was nominated for the Presidency by a Convention of Whigs! General Taylor was a military commander, whose chief and almost sole distinctions, were won in the war with Mexico;—and yet he was nominated for the Presidency by a Convention of the Opponents of the War!! General Taylor was a slaveholder, reared from childhood among slaveholders, holding those views of slavery advocated by Messrs. Calhoun, Yancey, and Berrien, and common in the extreme South, which hardly allow the sanity of one who questions the constitutionality or expediency of allowing slaveholding wherever the jurisdiction of the General Government extends;—and yet Gen. Taylor was nominated for the Presidency, by a Convention of which one hundred and sixty-three members, out of two hundred and eighty represented constituencies, which demand the exclusion of slavery from National Territories!!!

The records of political inconsistency may be searched in vain for a parallel to that of the Whig National Nominating Convention of 1848. Principle and policy were alike forgotten. All past professions were recklessly disregarded. Trampling under foot every consideration of past service to the whig cause and of repute for statesmanship and of devotion to the great doctrine of Free Soil for Free Men, the Convention rushed headlong to the nomination of the sole candidate acceptable to the slaveholders.

Never was the Free North—never was the Free West so humbled at the footstool of the Slave Power.

No nomination has ever been made in this country which was received with so much dissatisfaction by the constituents of the nominating delegates. Every one asks, Why were the Statesmen of the North and West set aside? Why, if a military chief was wanted, were the claims of the conqueror of Mexico disregarded? Why, if none but a slaveholder would answer, was the distinguished leader of the party in past conflicts, so unceremoniously passed by? And the answer which rises to the lips of every one is,—All these were supposed to be favorable to the exclusion of slavery from the territories, while General Taylor alone in position, sentiment and purpose, represented the interests and wishes of the slaveholders.

The Baltimore Convention disbanded the Democratic party. The Philadelphia Convention performed the same service for the Whig party. It is true that the nominations both of General Cass and General Taylor were made by persons delegated, respectively, from the Whig and Democratic parties, and each nominee may *perhaps* receive the suffrages of a plurality of those who have hitherto constituted the party for which he was nominated. But General Cass is not a true representative of the Democracy; nor is General Taylor, in any sense, a representative of the Whigs. The supporters of Cass are Cass men rather than Demo-

crats. The supporters of Taylor are Taylor men rather than Whigs. The supporters of both are willing or unwilling, conscious or unconscious vassals of the Slave Power. While the nations of Europe, in the light of the great principles of the American Declaration of Independence, are struggling for freedom:—at the very moment when France, having overthrown the Throne and established the Republic, is giving to her colonial slaves, that Liberty which she has just acquired for herself, the world beholds the amazing spectacle of two great parties in the United States, vying with each other, not in providing securities for freedom and extending the blessings of liberty, but in preparing fetters for themselves and their posterity, by extending slavery over vast regions now exempt from that baneful curse.

We have met in Convention to protest against this base surrender of the rights of the Free States; to declare ourselves and the people exempt from all obligation to support the nominees of the Slave-holders and their adherents; to call upon all lovers of Liberty, all haters of Despotism, all true Whigs of 1776, all true Democrats of the school of Jefferson, to rally under the glorious banner of Independence against these nominations.

We wage no war against the Slave States. We do not ask that Slavery be abolished by Congressional enactment in any State. But we do demand Slavery shall not lay its foul hands upon us. We do demand that Slavery shall cease to control the action of the National Government. We do demand that Slavery shall be excluded from National Territories.

In all this we demand nothing more than every Statesman of the Era of Independence and of the Constitution, supposed to be fully secured to the people of the Free States. No statesman of that day dreamed that the power of the General Government would ever be used to extend or foster Slavery; or that any National Territory would be stained and cursed by its presence. On the contrary almost all concurred in the opinion that Slavery, under the moral influence of the National Government, and through the legitimate action of the State Legislatures and individual emancipators would, at no very distant day, disappear from all the States.

These positions are susceptible of easy proof.—The evidence as to the designs and anticipations of our Revolutionary Fathers in relation to Slavery, is full and complete. We ask especial attention, at present, to the policy and power of the Federal Government in respect to its Extension.

It is well known that during the war of the Revolution several of the States laid claim, under their respective charters, to the territory between the Alleghanies and Mississippi. It is also well known that the Federal Congress claimed the same territory as unoccupied lands, which originally belonged, not to the colonies, but to the Crown, and had been wrested from Britain by the common blood and treasure of all the States.

The title of Congress, in the capacity of trustees for the States, was, we doubt not, the best title to these unoccupied lands. But the Congress was anxious to avoid conflict of State and Federal jurisdictions, and therefore urged the States to make liberal cessions of territorial claims.

Cessions were accordingly made by New York, Massachusetts, Virginia, Connecticut, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia. By these cessions the title of the United States was confirmed to all the territories North of the Ohio, and to all that now constitutes the States of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama.

The first of these cessions was made by New York, on the 1st of March, 1780; the second, by Virginia, on 1st of March, 1784. These cessions embraced the Northwestern Territory only.

On the 1st of March, 1784, the very day of the Virginia Cession, a committee, consisting of Messrs. JEFFERSON, of Virginia, CHASE of Maryland, and HOWELL, of Rhode Island, reported a plan for the government of the entire Western Territory, acquired and to be acquired, "ceded or to be ceded," extending from the 31st to beyond the 47th degree of North latitude. This plan provided for the division of the whole Territory into seventeen States, with certain prescribed boundaries; and for the establishment of "temporary and permanent governments" for them; and for their final admission into the Federal Union, with this Proviso among others, as the basis both of the "temporary and permanent governments":—

*"Provided,* That after the year 1800, of the Christian Era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty."

It will be noted that this Proviso made no provision for the reclamation of slaves escaped into the Territory. It was designed and framed as a complete defence against the intrusion of slavery in any form, or under any modification. The coming century was to witness, upon the first day of its existence, the inauguration of freedom, as the perpetual and fundamental law of all National Territories, and of all States to be created from them.

Such was the grand and comprehensive idea of Jefferson. It was worthy of the author of the Declaration of Independence. The Proviso was his second noblest work.

It is to be deplored that even then there were some delegates in Congress, who did not share the spirit of Jefferson. Of these, Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, achieved for himself an unenviable immortality, by his motion on the 19th April, 1784, to strike out the Proviso from the reported plan of Government. The question, on this motion, in accordance with the usage of Congress, when passing upon matters, requiring the assent of nine States to the validity of an act, was taken in this form: "Shall this

land?" If nine States, each having one could respond, "aye" the clause would be ; if not, it would be stricken out. Upon motion thus put, eleven States represented by three delegates, voted. Six States "aye;" three States, of which one was , voted no; one, North Carolina, was and one, New Jersey, was, on that day, voted by a single delegate, whose vote was : under the articles of confederation could counted as the vote of his State. Of the is, sixteen voted "aye," and seven voted The assent of nine States being necessary to retain the clause, the motion was out, was declared carried. Thus with rds of the States whose votes could be , and more than two thirds of the dole- in its favor, the Proviso was lost. Had one delegate from New Jersey been pre- but one of the colleagues of Mr. Jeff- been animated by his spirit, and had Mr. voted with his colleague, Mr. William- had the voice of a majority of two thirds allowed to prevail, the Proviso would have irrevocable law, the progress of slavery the original States would have been ar- forever, and its speedy extinction in all have necessarily followed.

cannot pause to dwell on the vast and g consequences of this minority decision. scription can represent; no computation e; no limitation bound them. Had they foreseen with any degree of certainty or ss, the result, assuredly, would have been ise. Those who voted against the Pro- om considerations of personal or sectional t, or because they deemed it premature to e for territory not yet acquired, or merely e they wished to adjourn a troublesome n, would have shrunk from the responsi- inflicting the transcendent evils of Slavery ion, upon their country and their country-

friends of freedom were not discouraged defeat. They were still a powerful ty, and the sympathies of the people ith them. Three years afterwards, the of the Western Territories was again up, and an ordinance was reported for the ment of the Territory Northwest of the hio. This Territory, it must be remem- had been ceded by Virginia, a slavehold- ate, and slavery was already establish- t, having been introduced by the French , prior to the cession by France to Great , in 1688. If then it had been the policy Government to foster or extend slavery, ly there would have been no interference here. Not such, however, but the reverse , was then our national policy. Eza position to the extension of Freedom, which anifested itself three years before, had eared. When, therefore, a motion was

made by Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, to amend the reported ordinance, by engraving upon it the Proviso of Jefferson, it was carried without a dissenting voice. The prohibition of slavery thus became the corner stone of the Institutions of the Northwest. It stands in the Ordinance as a perpetual memorial of the noble purpose of our fathers, by themselves therein set forth, to "EXTEND the fundamental principles of civil and religious LIBERTY; to FIX and ESTABLISH those principles as THE BASIS of all LAWS, CONSTITUTIONS and GOVERNMENTS, which forever thereafter should be framed in the said Territory." There let it stand forever!

It has been well said that the monument of Jefferson is not over his grave in Virginia.— Brambles and the wild grass grow over that.— But his monument is here; here in the broad Northwest, wherever Free Labor plies its honor- able task, wherever Science leads youth in pursuit of knowledge, wherever Religion pours its celestial light, in all our happy homes, and in the hearts of four millions of Freemen, is the monument of Thomas Jefferson. We look up- on it and bless God who raised up such a man for such a time, and provided worthy comrades with him, and worthy successors in his work when he was withdrawn from it, until its final completion by the adoption of the Ordinance.

It is worthy of remark that the privilege of re- claiming fugitives from service is limited by the Ordinance to servants escaped into the Territory from one of the *original* States. This phrase- ology distinctly reveals the purpose of the States- men of that day—a purpose otherwise sufficiently manifest—that no more slave States should ever be admitted into the Union.

It is worthy of remembrance, also, that the Ordinance of 1787, and the Constitution of the United States, were framed at the same time, in the same city, by two bodies co-operating, and constituted in part of the same members. The two instruments must be construed together, as parts of one great system of Govern- ment and National Policy: and it seems to us that no intelligent man, who examines both, can honestly deny that it was the settled Amer- ican policy of that day, not to extend and na- tionalize but to limit and localize the institution of slavery. It was the design of our fathers to confer on Federal Government no power to abolish slavery, by direct legislation, in the States, and none to establish or support it by le- gislation or otherwise, in the Territories, or else- where.

It is true that the policy of slavery restriction was afterwards by degrees lost sight of. Con- gress accepted territorial cessions from South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia, with conditions in the deeds of cession against the application to the ceded territory of the Slavery prohibition of the ordinance of 1787; and in the territory thus acquired Slavery was permitted

under national authority. At a later period Louisiana was purchased from France, and at a period still later, Florida was purchased from Spain, and the Slavery, which existed in both at the time of acquisition, was permitted to continue under the Territorial Government, with some restrictions against the augmentation of the slave population, which, as might have been expected, proved unavailing. Had Congress pursued the policy marked out by the Jefferson Proviso, or fulfilled the general expectation of the people, prevailing when that Proviso was adopted, or carefully regarded the just limits of their constitutional powers, slavery would never have been permitted in any of these territories.

We ask the attention of the people of Ohio to some of the consequences what have followed this departure from the original policy of the National Government:

One consequence was the admission into the Union of new Slave States, created out of the territories, in which slavery was thus permitted to exist. Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama successively applied for admission into the Union as slaveholding States. These applications provoked little or no opposition; and the applying States were admitted without any slavery restriction. The application of Missouri however met a determined resistance. The people of the Free States were thoroughly aroused; her Statesmen were unanimous; and, for a time, it seemed certain that Missouri must consent to take measures for the removal of slavery from her limits, as a condition of her admission into the confederacy. But the event of the struggle was otherwise. Deserters enough abandoned the cause of freedom to secure the triumph of the slavery extensionists, and Missouri also took her place in the Union as a slaveholding State. The friends of freedom, discouraged by the issue of this struggle, submitted almost passively to the subsequent admission of Arkansas and Florida. Strengthened and encouraged by these accessions, the Slave Power demanded and obtained the annexation of Texas and its admission into the Union as a slaveholding State. Eight Slave States have been thus added to the Union, without regard to the original policy of the Country, and in violation as we firmly believe of the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution.

The population of these States in 1840, allowing two hundred and fifty thousand for Florida and Texas, not then admitted, was 2,908,021 persons of whom 928,429 were slaves, computing those in Florida and Texas at 50,000. The population of Ohio, in 1840, was 1,619,467. The eight new Slaveholding States had then a free population exceeding by less than one fourth that of the single free State of Ohio; and yet these States have eight times as many votes as Ohio in the Senate of the United States; and have in the House of Representatives seven

representatives for their slaves; and consequently in the election of President and Vice President cast fifty-one votes, while Ohio casts but twenty three. Such is the enormous disproportion of political power to free population, the advantages of the disproportion being all in favor of the Slave States, growing out of the Extension of Slavery.

Another consequence of the Extension of Slavery was the abandonment of all plans of emancipation in the original Slave States.—Nearly all the leading ~~characters~~ of Virginia and Maryland, and many in other Slave States, before and for some time after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, favored Freedom. But as these men passed from the stage of active life, and markets for slaves were opened in the West and Southwest, and the slaveholders began to appreciate the immense political power secured to them by the representation of three fifths of their slaves, the idea of Emancipation grew less and less popular, until it became dangerous to utter the maxims of Jefferson and the precepts of Washington, even when standing upon the soil above their graves. It is true that of late the spirit of Emancipation seems to have revived; but it is true also that the struggle of Emancipationists in the Slave States will be hopeless, unless the Freeman of the Free States prove faithful to the cause of Liberty.

Other consequences of the the Extension of Slavery are seen in the portentous control exercised by the Slave Power over the entire Legislative, Judicial and Executive Administration of the Government; over the selection and election of candidates for office, and over the expression of opinion in the halls of public debate and in the humbler discussions of the street and the fireside. Its influence, like that of every other despotism, though unseen, is everywhere felt. It is not too much to say that the People of the Free States are now the vassals of the Slave Power. And the vassalage has become too grievous to be any longer endured.

For ourselves and for the people whom we represent, we will submit to it no longer; and we ask you, Freeman of our noble State, to rally to the banner of the Free for the sake of Freedom.

Emboldened by past success the slaveholders have entered upon their last great experiment.—Hitherto they have been content with securing the progress of Slavery, under the protection of the Federal Government, in territories where Slavery existed at the time of acquisition. They now demand the extension of Slavery into Free Territories. They demand the sanction of National Legislation for the traffic in men and women, in Territories where such traffic is now, as it ought to be everywhere, a crime in law. They demand that the American People, debasing themselves below the level of the vilest Governments of the Old World, shall enact, in the view of mocking Despots and indignant Freeman, the infamous part of propagandists of Slavery. They have so far suc-

eeded that they have stifled the voice of Freedom in the nominating conventions at Baltimore and Philadelphia. They have exacted from the first the slavish and absurd declaration that all action by Congress against slavery is unwarranted and dangerous; in the other they contemptuously laid on the table a resolution against the Extension of Slavery, offered by a delegate from the State.—They have secured nominations, by both conventions, of Presidential candidates prepared to concede them their extremest demands.

Nothing remains but the choice of disgraceful submission, or manly resistance. Our election is made. We believe also, the election of the people of Ohio is made. The hacks of Party and the satellites of Slavery will find that there is a point to which parties can neither be led or driven. That point is the conscious abandonment of vital principles for the mere chance of party success. That the people are not prepared to descend to that point of degradation, we have the most cheering assurances from all parts of the State. Indications multiply of a mighty uprising of the masses, which will overwhelm the betrayers of the Principles of Ohio.

Nor are these indications confined to our own State. The Democracy of New York, like a strong man after sleep, is arming itself to do battle for Freedom. It has shaken off at once the deadly embraces of Hunkerism and the Slave Power, and stands forth, full of strength and vigor, as the champion of Liberty. The Whigs of Massachusetts, reverting to the maxims of the whigs of '76, and discarding the lessons of cold and heartless conservatism, are gathering on the old battle fields of freedom to strike again for her sacred cause. From the farthest west and from the farthest east come words of encouragement and cheer.

Democrats of Ohio! Where will you be in this contest for Freedom? What has the Slave Power done for you, that you should support the candidates which it has forced into nomination? Does not the Slave Power scoff at your free labor? Does it not demand the exclusion of yourselves and your children from the bounteous regions of the newly acquired west, unless you will go there to be "yoked in with marked and branded Slaves?" Why vote for Lewis Cass? Is selfish and mean abandonment of your principles,—is truckling desertion of your interests and your rights,—is treachery to you, a recommendation to your suffrages? If not, do not vote for your betrayer, but bestow your suffrages for a man who can be depended on for fidelity to your principles and to you.

Whigs of Ohio! Whigs to whom the principles of 1776 are dear, we ask you, under what

banner will you rally? Will you fight under a flag, inscribed no longer with the cherished principles of the Whigs, but displaying on one side the single motto, "Availability," and on the other "Extension of Slavery?" Can you rally under such a flag as this? What is to be gained by it? What but the consciousness of degradation, and the certainty that if you elect the candidate, who has been nominated for you, you add new strength to the Slave Power, already so formidable and so dangerous.

Let not the Whigs say, "we must vote for Taylor, to defeat Cass." And let not the Democrats say, "we must vote for Cass, to defeat Taylor." Such language as this is unfit for sensible and patriotic men. Vote for no candidate who is unworthy of your suffrages. Vote for no candidate who does not fairly represent your principles. Let the Liberty-loving Democrat vote for freedom, and trust that his Liberty loving brother Whig will do the same. Let the Liberty-loving Whig reciprocate this generous confidence. Vote on principle—vote right, and you need not fear the consequences. A vote given in accordance with the dictate of conscience is never lost. Its salutary influence, a noble testimony for Truth and Freedom will be felt, whether the candidate for whom it is given be elected or not. Those votes only are lost which are given for unfit men in violation of principle. But we need not lose our votes in any sense. Let the Whigs, Democrats, and Liberty men opposed to the extension of slavery, unite under the banner of Free Democracy, and nothing can resist them. They can elect their candidate by ample majorities over Cass men and Taylor men both.

Especially would we warn the Freemen of the States to guard the avenues to Congress and the State Legislatures. Vote for no man for Congress or the State Legislature who is not an assured and independent opponent of Slave Power and Slave-Extension, no matter from what party he comes. Vote for no man who, for any consideration or under any circumstances, will postpone the claims of Freedom to the interests of Party. We have had doughty-faced representatives enough.—Let us hereafter be represented by Freemen.

Fellow Citizens: we commit the cause of Freedom to the Freemen of Ohio. We cannot, we will not believe that you will desert it, or suffer it to be deserted. From every quarter we have the most auspicious assurances. The people are rousing and moving. One struggle more—one earnest, persevering, mighty, united effort, and the victory will be won and the Slave Power humbled for ever.

ADDRESS OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE FREE TERRITORY CONVENTION OF OHIO, HELD JUNE 20TH AND 21ST, TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

We address you, as a Convention of Freemen of Ohio, assembled without distinction of party, as the friends of Freedom, Free Territory, and Free Labor, opposed to the election of Lewis Cass or Zachary Taylor to the Presidency of the United States.

We have resolved to invite the Freemen of the United States to meet in Convention at Buffalo, in the State of New York, on Wednesday the 9th day of August, A. D. 1848.

As early as 1784, a Proviso excluding slavery from all National Territories was proposed by Jefferson and received the approbation of two thirds of the States, and more than two thirds of the Delegates in Congress, present and voting.

This proviso became law for the Territory Northwest of the Ohio, in the Ordinance of 1787, by the unanimous votes of all the States and all the Delegates.

The policy, thus settled by the Ordinance, of excluding slavery from National Territories, is vital to the prosperity and harmony of the States and to the preservation of the Union. Every non-slaveholder in every State is directly interested in upholding it and acting upon it. None are more deeply interested than the non-slaveholders of the Slave States.

This policy has been departed from. To this policy the Government must return, or the Union must perish. The Freemen of the country cannot and will not submit to the perpetuation of

slavery, or the increase of the slave power by the extension of slavery. Such submission would degrade us in our own esteem and in the esteem of Freemen throughout the world. It would be offensive to Him, whom our Fathers invoked as the Almighty and Eternal Witness of the rectitude of their intentions, when they proclaimed to the world the great doctrines of Equality and Freedom as the only true basis of governments among men.

Neither Gen. Cass nor Gen. Taylor favor this policy and we cannot support them.

We therefore invite the Freemen of every State and every Party who adopt the creed and policy of Jefferson in relation to Slavery and Slavery Extension, and concur with us in opposition to the election of Lewis Cass and Zachary Taylor, to meet us at Buffalo on the 9th of August, 1848.

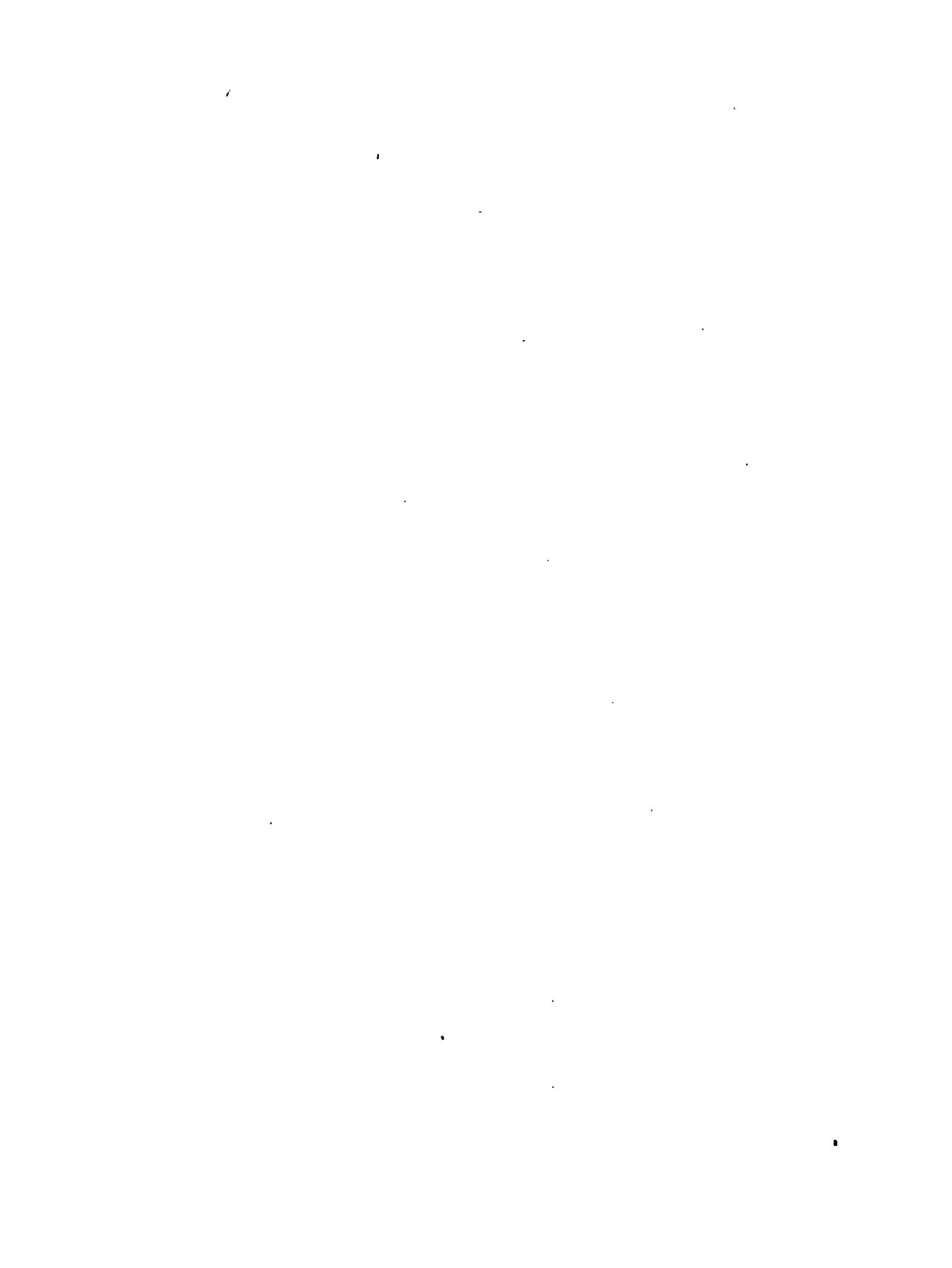
Let us take counsel together for the safety of the Republic. Let us present, for the suffrages of the American people, candidates, worthy of Freemen determined to remain Free.

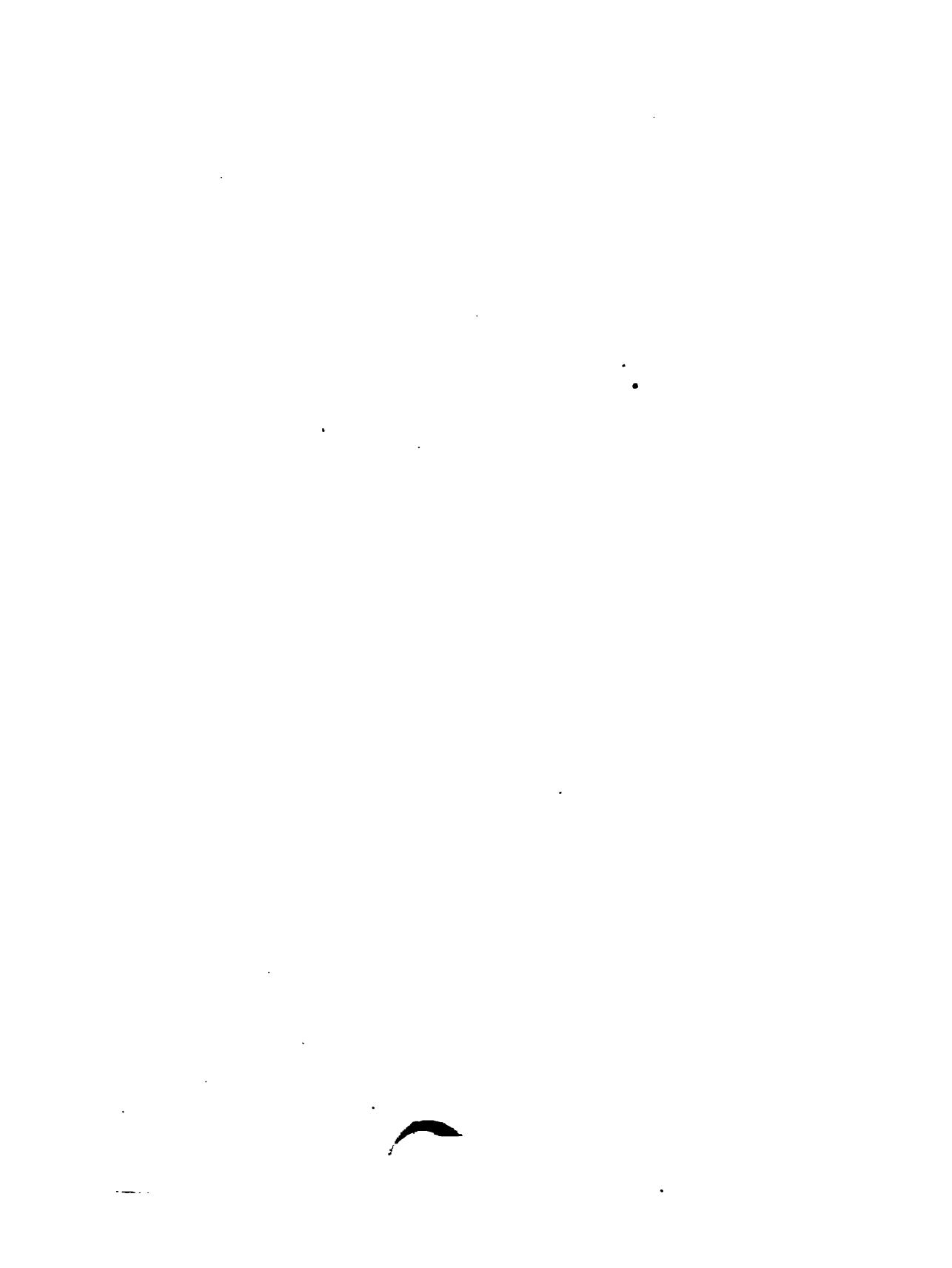
*Signed by order of the Convention:—*

NATHANIEL SAWYIER, Pres't.

FRIEND COOK,  
J. P. KIRTLAND, } V. Pres'ts.  
ROBERT STEWART,

F. M. Keith,  
Dann Piatt, } Secretaries.  
Wm. G. Graham,







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